291 of adults as soon as they have learned to walk and have established habits of toilet control. However, it is said that small boys formerly wore only a shirt; *calzones* for the young became common with the advent of the highway. Young boys, including even infants in arms, have hats, but until the age of 10 or 12 these are cheap woven straw hats costing 15 to 25 centavos rather than the more expensive sewn braid hats worn by men. The acquisition of [885] an adult hat and a poncho is the principal recognition of adulthood.

Today both men and boys wear the hair 302 short, cut either at home or by a barber. Only ● 178 one boy in Gherán was observed with long hair; his mother was not a native. Still remem- [856] bered, however, is the belief that to use scissors or a knife to cut hair will retard small children in learning to speak. Consequently, long hair was formerly common among small children. Although no memory persists in Cherán of long hair worn by men, in other villages it is asserted long hair was worn until a generation ago. Elderly Capacuaro informants insisted they had seen long hair worn by men in San Lorenzo, while an old man in Chilchota, now a Mestizo town, claimed his grandfather wore long hair as did many others of similar age.

Women's dress.—Probably the majority of 291 women in Cherán wear cotton print dresses for everyday wear. However, only a few wear the styles found among Mestizo women, that is, a fairly short one-piece, rather simply cut dress of garish cotton print cloth which might be duplicated among cheap cotton house dresses in the United States. Much more common is a garment of archaic cut and usually with smaller, less colorful figures in the material. This garment is usually longer and has a definite skirt, pleated at the waistband, and a blouse, although usually the two are combined into a single garment. Flounces or ruffles are not infrequent on the skirt and the back of the waist. This garment, in some of its forms, is not essentially different from that worn by Mixe women, as well as women of other Indian groups, and probably dates back to at least the seventeenth century.

Virtually every woman in town also has a traditional Tarascan dress. This is usually worn for any formal occasion, even though only

[Text continues on page 40 b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

184 first, then the men, and then the married
264 women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the women. However, they always turn the tortillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

Changes in food habits at Cherán probably
262 have been marked in recent years. Old people
178 say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that people could not eat it. Although the change in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale migration from Cherán to other places had much to do with the change. Although it is difficult to point out specific changes without comparative data from conservative towns, the major differences seem to be the displacement of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks, cookies, and other manufactured foods are also becoming more common.

ECONOMICS

437 changes on a barter basis are often calculated in terms of the money values of the goods or services involved.

The fact that Tarascan economy is a money
437 economy signifies more than ease in the study
177 of exchange; it also indicates at once that Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that term is usually understood. Actually Tarascan economics, like the rest of Tarascan culture, is strongly influenced by European culture. It does not necessarily follow, however,
[181] that Tarascan economics is not distinctive. The long period of assimilation and reintegration that characterized all of Tarascan culture occurred also in the economic field, and the result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan culture is more European in origin than is that of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover, especially in recent years, the economy of the outside world has impinged increasingly upon the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were individuals whose livelihood had been seriously affected by the outbreak of war and who, furthermore, were quite aware of their relationship to world markets.

441 Paracho and brings back coconuts and dried
439 meat. He normally travels only a half day.
487 (However, his half day would mean a dawn start and continuing normally until midafternoon.) His stops are as follows: Pichataro, Sirawén, Ario, Las Palmas, La Playa, Cayaco, Guadaloupe, Las Balsas, Corcoles, La Limón, Tepehuaje, Colmeneros, La Unión, Pantla, Puerto Sijuatanejo, San Geronimito, and Petatlán.

441 *Arrieros* probably have superior techniques
[492] for handling burros. *Criolina* is carried for treating saddle sores, and burros are shod "when the burro catches cold in his feet." Dysentery (*"posición"*) is the most frequent cause of loss of burros on trips.

Arrieros also observe special ceremonies. A
[782] candle and prayer are offered to San Antonio before going on a trip, and thanks are rendered on return. The *arrieros* also maintain a *mayordomía* for San Antonio, which is described elsewhere.

In general, knowledge of the economics of the *arrieros'* activities is unsatisfactory. It would be extremely difficult to gain an accurate idea of the amount of goods exchanged by this method or to discover the monetary or other rewards obtained by the *arriero*.

The importance of the *arriero* class un-
178 doubtedly will wane rapidly with the extension of highways and truck trails. Already the importance of the *arriero* in the Coalcomán region has greatly diminished as a result of truck trails opened up in recent years. When a direct connection is made between the highland and the developing truck trail system in the Balsas Basin, the *arriero* probably will rapidly disappear.

TRANSPORTATION

As has been indicated at various points in
492 the preceding pages, the burro is the most common means of transportation still, supplemented occasionally by horses or mules. Poor traders may even make long journeys carrying their goods on their backs. Nevertheless, a revolution in transportation is under way in Cherán.

One alteration in the transportation picture
494 is the truck which picks up bulk goods in Cherán for markets that formerly were closed to these items. As much as 4,000 kilos of wheat has

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.87a] Sierra Tarascans

435 exceptions, it may perhaps fairly be said that prices are the expression of Cherán values with respect to goods and services. Moreover, the major price determination at Cherán is not by local standards but in terms of fluctuations in Mexican economy as a whole. It is not supply and demand in Cherán which determines most prices, but supply and demand (and Government controls) in the surrounding regions. The extent to which this is true is a measure
[177] of the degree to which Tarascan economy is linked with that of Mexico, a relationship that is much closer than is ordinarily recognized by Mexican students.

The prices of the most important commodities produced in Cherán, corn and wheat, are determined by what will be paid by purchasers from outside the town. In similar fashion, the prices of most imported goods are determined by the wholesale prices existing in centers such as Uruapan, Purépero, and Pátzcuaro. The price of labor is likewise determined, although to a somewhat lesser degree, by the price labor can command in markets outside of Tarascan territory.

It is interesting to observe, however, that this influence does not extend far out of Michoacán. The Government, in building the highway with local labor, is reported to have
[465] paid only a peso a day, somewhat less than the legal minimum wage. As it was, the high wages (by Michoacán standards) tended to disrupt the local wage structure.

Within this major framework of price determination, of course, there are subsidiary exceptions. The price of pears, for example, will fluctuate somewhat in relation to local supply and demand, and the same is true of other fruits which have not yet found wider markets. Similar conditions obtain with respect to cheese and fish. Land prices in general seem to bear little relation to productivity and yield, although here our analysis may be at fault.[38] The preference for exercising gleaning rights in the corn harvest in place of higher wages also shows that in some areas of Cherán economics, nonmonetary values operate.

435 In general, the coming of the highway is
● 178 bringing higher prices for local products.
494

[38] It is possible that a more adequate analysis of labor costs might show our estimates of net yields from farming are too high.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
[p.876]

178 435 494 Tables 8 and 9 give the prices of some goods and products. Although little evidence is yet visible at Cherán, at Chilchota in La Cañada, where the highway has been in use longer, it was said that the price of chickens had risen from 50 centavos to $1.50 with corresponding rises in other products.

TABLE 8.—*Prices of some important goods and products in Cherán*

435

Goods or products	Number or quantity	Price
Maize (shelled)	Liter	$0.04–$0.07
	Fanega	5.00– 7.00
Wheat	Medida	.55
	Carga	23.00–27.00
Beans	Liter	.15– .26
Squash	Each	.25– .50
Cabbage	do	.03– .08
Pears	Per 100	2.00–13.00
Peaches	do	.40
Honey	Half liter	.30
Wax	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Bread	[2], small	.05
	[1], large	.10
Rain de Paja	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Beef	do	.70
Pig (fattened for butchering)	1 (live)	40.00–75.00
Sheep	do	2.50– 5.00
Charcoal	Kilo	.02– .03
Planks	Dozen	6.00– 7.00
Railroad ties (Oak, pine, or fir)	Each	.60
Shakes (5 *cuartas* long)	Bundle (400)	5.00 and up
Handwoven wool cloth	Yard	1.00

[1] In Zamora or *tierra caliente*.

WEALTH AND PROPERTY

556 423 The major wealth of Cherán is forest and agricultural land. As has been indicated previously, all lands capable of permanent cultivation are privately owned, the remainder belonging to the community and being open to the use of all community members. One informant mentioned a possible exception to this statement, saying that the one large land holding of prerevolutionary Cherán has been taken by the Government and offered for sale to Cherán residents. The informant believed some lands in this holding were still unsold, but no further information was secured. In any case, the incident does not alter the fundamental pattern of Cherán land holding.

556 422 In terms of individual wealth, the basic Cherán concepts are those of rural Mexico. Wealth is primarily land and silver. Cattle loom less important, partly because they are not owned in large numbers, partly because the revolutionary period taught the people of Cherán that cattle are a less stable form of wealth. The man who owns sufficient land, however, has an essentially inalienable resource by which any losses of less stable types of

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

585 bottoms of the pots and to rub their hands on each other's faces, with other horseplay.

This group included the men and the women
● [178] who had been working in the kitchen. It is said the custom of the kitchen staff dancing with the kitchen utensils is an old one which is rarely observed now. A number of informants had not seen it for many years, and it was not practiced in other weddings observed. The
[184] custom is believed to be peculiar to Cherán.

The godmothers, in the meantime, had been seated again. The groom's father gave them each a small pop bottle of *charanda* with a package of Tigres cigarettes tied with gay ribbons to the neck of the bottle. These are provided by grandchildren of the godmothers. The father also gave each grandmother a small green glazed pottery "barrel" with a tiny spout on top and a cup fitting over the spout; these were also filled with *charanda* and the godmothers ceremonially drank a drop or two from the cup and then began pressing it on others. Each person offered a drink took a drop or two. When most of the small supply of *charanda* in the barrels was gone, large bottles were produced and began to circulate in the crowd. The first large bottle was taken to the shed where the bride's male relatives sat.

The dancing now became general, although for a time the elderly women with breads rushed about charging into people who were not dancing and forcing them to dance. Drinking also became general, and numbers soon showed the effects of the liquor. Several expeditions went out for more bread, accompanied now by the godmothers, who danced rather drunkenly in the streets at the head of the processions. Many women accompanying the procession also danced, but the younger women, especially those carrying babies, merely walked along the sides of the street.

The following day the male first cousins took
[605] atole to the groom. The atole was made by the youths' mothers, but the boys had to take the maize to the mill to have it ground and get the ingredients for the atole.

The wedding of Samuel Sánchez, described above in somewhat abbreviated form, was one of the extremes of Cherán marriage. At the
[587] other end of the scale was the wedding of a niece of Agustín's. The groom, Juan Gerónimo,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 202]

888 proper care. But helpless old people are few in Cherán. Most old people, even though they may not perform an equal share of the labor, keep fairly active and useful.

SICKNESS AND ITS CURE

75 Ideas about sickness and its cure are in a state of transition in Cherán. The list of [178] diseases is a combination of standard medical terms, sometimes misapplied, and names from traditional sources. Treatment of disease is likewise changing rapidly. Some people in town will go to a clinic in Parácho and in serious cases will send for the doctor there. For part of the time of the study a *practicante* [759] in medicine was resident in the town (a *practicante* is a medical student who has completed all his work but has to spend 8 months in a town without a doctor and write a report on medical and health conditions before receiving his final credentials). Very few people evince any dislike for doctors; if they shun doctors it is because of the expense involved. On the other hand, most of the local curers are reticent and uncommunicative, although many of them make use of remedies purchased in the [366] drug stores of nearby towns (Cherán has no drug store).

759 All the curers (*curanderas*—šuríjki; in other towns ɛinájpiri) located in the town were women. Usually they are middle-aged or old. In those cases where biographical data could be secured, the majority were daughters or granddaughters of curers. In some cases they had been taught, but apparently few of them used their knowledge until they became of mature years. Very few curers profess to cure all illnesses; usually they claim to cure two or three and in some cases only one. Twenty-five centavos is the usual charge for curing, whether the patient comes to the curer's house or the curer visits the patient. One curer visited had the reputation of being a "bad" witch, another a "good" witch, but generally the curers are not witches. Some rejected indignantly the idea of having anything to do with witchcraft, denying even ability to cure witchcraft. Anything to do with witchcraft is a *maloficio* and not to be touched by ordinary persons.

753 Ideas of sickness are varied. Injuries, such as broken bones, dislocated joints, and wounds,

765 these prayers, but it is not necessary for other
767 relatives to do so. However, if a relative attends the first day, he is obligated to continue the entire 9 days. On the ninth day, the *novena* is sometimes observed with prayers in the house. There is no purification or burning of incense or other materials in the house.

765 After the funeral, the parents or the surviv-
[152] ing spouse may remain very sad. If it appears they may be made ill of "sadness," the relatives visit the survivors frequently, talking to them of things which they think may alleviate their condition and giving consolation. If this does not improve matters, they seek a curer who gives medicines.

A very few families pay for Masses for the deceased. More commonly, members of the family of the deceased will visit the church from time to time and burn candles and pray for the dead.

A few additional observations may be of interest. It is said that formerly the bells were
[178] tolled 10 or 12 times in the morning and afternoon when someone had died. This is not done now. The graveyard is on the lower edge of town and is surrounded by an adobe wall. In some cases the graves are paved with cobblestones or more elaborate masonry pavements. On rare occasions a tomb or head stone is erected, but in the majority of cases only a wooden cross is put up. The age of the present graveyard is unknown; the oldest date found on a grave was 1883. There is no evidence of offerings (except in connection with the Day of the Dead), although the graveyard is apparently visited at night by some people to judge by the presence of numerous partially burned pitch pine splinters about the entrance. All informants denied knowledge of such visits, however.

769 The major mourning ceremony is the Day of the Dead, November 2. Several days before this date the graveyard is divided in four sections and the young men from each *barrio* are required by the municipal officials to clear the brush and weeds away from the entire cemetery. On November 1 everyone prepares quantities of nákatamales, a small tamale filled with beef in chile sauce and wrapped in husks rather than maize leaves. Fruit is also purchased and bread is made. A few make tamales for sale, but most people make their own.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

177 181 both in formal religion and in witchcraft, are certainly almost wholly European.

Despite the European origins of Tarascan culture, it obviously represents something different from the European-originated Mestizo culture. Neither is it a mere survival of sixteenth century conditions. If Vasco de Quiroga or any other sixteenth century European were to return to Cherán, he no doubt would find it as strange as any lay visitor from modern European culture. Nor would this strangeness be wholly or even primarily due to the infiltration of later European ideas.

The uniqueness of Cherán culture, whether viewed from the standpoint of the sixteenth century or from that of today, lies in the extensive reworking of its European materials. For example, the *cabildo* system seems almost certainly related to the organization of the hospitals introduced by Quiroga, yet the good Bishop might have to do considerable research to recognize the relationship. Such reworking may be due to the patterning influence of native ideas rather than to a spontaneous evolution of a purely European culture in the partial isolation of the late Colonial period. The character of such things as family life and attitudes and the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Cherán inhabitants may have been relatively unchanged, despite the modifications in material culture and social organization.

178 181 A subject meriting more thorough investigation in Cherán is the persistence of the mixed culture of Cherán. The fierce attachment to *costumbres* is part of the acceptance of a way of life by most members of the community, even the most progressive. This attachment persists despite the fact that Cherán culture not only changes visibly but that such change is accepted and even desired by a large part of the population. The limits of acceptable change, however, need further definition. The impression of the staff of the present study is that change is accepted rather readily in those things relating to material welfare and perhaps health. Cherán residents are not averse to changes leading to more money, food, medical service (if it does not cost too much), or elements increasing comfort, such as a larger and better distributed water supply. The introduction of industries giving employment at

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
[p. 3.11 b]

better wages would meet no opposition. Probably political reforms would have support if they clearly would provide more effective and representative self-government. Nevertheless, it seems probable that extensive changes in these fields would still leave Cherán life with a highly distinctive flavor. No matter how long Cherán residents have lived away from the community, and even if they have been born out of the community, they seem to accept a pattern of attitudes and behaviors which have not been successfully identified and analyzed in the present study.

In some measure a dichotomy of Cherán culture is implied in the foregoing remarks. The areas in which change is permissible and accepted may be identified as "secular" in the sense Robert Redfield (1941) has used the term in his studies of Yucatan culture change. Such a characterization might be misleading, however, for it seems doubtful if the term "sacred" can be applied equally well to the sectors of the culture where change is rejected. Certainly a Cherán resident would be nonplussed at the application of the term "sacred" to weddings and the obligations of kinship (although he might consider it properly applied to the *compadre* obligations). Primarily the sacred in Cherán is closely associated with the affairs of the Church, a view that is perhaps best high-lighted by the fact that those progressives who are most anticlerical (a position to be kept clearly distant from "anti-Catholic") are not opponents of the *costumbres*.

Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the processes again seem significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los tontos* and *los correctos*, Mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable Mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village of Yucatan hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary (Indiana, U. S. A.), Mexico City, and Morelia (possibly in diminishing order) than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 79] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro
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1

INTRODUCTION

131 The Tarascans are one of the principal Indian groups on the central plateau of
[161] Mexico, numbering around 55,000 in 1940. They occupy the central region of the State of Michoacan, mainly in the Lake Pátzcuaro area and the Sierra west of it.
621 They live in sixty-six villages *(pueblos)*[1] and a number of dependent hamlets
[101] *(ranchos)* amidst similar settlements of mestizo Spanish-speaking people.[2]

171 Except for language, the differences be-
178 tween the Tarascans and the nearby rural mestizos are not very great from either the cultural or any other point of view. Four centuries of living together with and under people of European culture (Spanish colonial or modern Mexican) have made the Tarascans considerably interdependent with Mexican national life, and their culture, if analyzed in traits and institutions, might show more of a Spanish than an Indian heritage. The loss of Tarascan speech and consciousness is only one more step in the process of greater integration and acculturation into the Mexican nation, and many of the mestizo villages near the Tarascans have undergone this transformation only recently.

This interrelation with the rest of the nation is seen not only in the content of their culture but also in their participation in the social and political conflicts of Mexico.

668 National issues which have agitated Mexico in later years have their local manifestation in Tarascan towns. Conflicts around land and church rage in many Tarascan villages.

While the basic issues of landownership arise out of local conditions, the local groups fighting those issues are connected with national political groups. *Agraristas* (peasants claiming or receiving lands under the agrarian laws emanating from the Revolution) are found in many villages. Lately the Catholic nationalistic movement of the *sinarquistas* has found strong support among the Tarascans. Their different allegiances make for opposition or
[609] support of the national and state governments and local agencies, influencing the

1. The terms village and town are used indistinctively throughout this paper to translate the Spanish pueblo.
2 West, 1948, 1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.8a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

121 relations, occupation, ethnic origin, or religious background. Social classes are the main segments of this type. Within the national culture, every local and class group has a distinctive subculture. The peasants often appear to be the group with the highest degree of cultural distinctiveness.

National culture and society can not be described only in terms of local and class groups. Both these groups are tied together by institutions (money, trade, property, education, government, law, religion), whose personnel does not always coincide either with local or class groups and which often, as in the case of money or law, are not really the culture of a group but rather an expression of the economic, social and political relations between the different segments of society.[4]

In applying this approach to the Tarascan scene, the following reasoning can be put forth:

There are a Mexican people and a Mexican culture. The social system under which this people lives is characterized by a division into social classes. Every class has cultural peculiarities, i.e., a class subculture. One (or several) of these classes are the peasants, people primarily engaged in the tilling of the soil. Correspondingly one could speak of a national peasant culture. Furthermore, these peasants live in rural settlements every one of which has a distinctive culture due to different native background and adaptations to local ecological and social conditions. In this sense every village can be said to have a local and class subculture, or folk culture for short.

177 Changes in the national cultures are the sum total of changes in every subculture plus their interrelations. Some subcul-
178 tures, however, change more rapidly, or their changes are more decisive than others in determining changes in the other subcultures. In our case, given the backwardness of the Tarascan peasants and their lesser integration into national life, their villages are neither the sources of initiative for change nor the places where changes in the national culture are prepared. The Tarascans hold no key economic position and have no control of political power. They are, rather, in the position of receiving influences from the rest of the nation, and the stimuli for change often come from the outside.

4. Steward, 1949, 115.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 86] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 One might approach the question of change from two points of view: first, how 177 local conditions lead to change, whether or not this change is typical for the nation at large, and how it ties itself up to changes in the nation; second, how changes in the national culture, originating in other regions and among other classes, expand and influence change in the Tarascan villages. A combination of both factors explains cultural change in the Tarascan communities.

121 In order to discuss the relation between folk and national cultures as seen in a particular local subculture, some further definition seems necessary. We designate as "folk" those culture traits and institutions which are peculiar to the local culture and distinctive of it. These traits and institutions usually respond to local needs and conditions and we might imagine their survival (although of course in modified form) if the local subculture were suddenly isolated from the rest of the world.

National traits are those which, in the local subculture, appear as local manifestations of national institutions. They respond to the need of the nation as a whole. If the community were to become isolated, these traits would disappear or radically change their character.

121 In the following table the culture of Tarascan villages is classified according to 105 this dichotomy:

FOLK	NATIONAL
Economics	
subsistence farming	production for the outside market
agricultural techniques	consumption of outside goods
household crafts	
local markets	taxpayers
	use of national currency
	workers in outside farms
Social and Political	
family	local government as branch of national and state governments
local government as organization and representative of local interests	allegiance to national political parties
	legal system

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.99] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

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FOLK	NATIONAL
Ideology and Religion	
unorganized beliefs	official Church (town priest, mass, etc.)
ceremonies centering around economic and life cycle activities	acceptance of outside authority in questions of ideology (Church, School, etc.)
folk Catholicism	rational point of view taught in schools
witchcraft	
total belief in folklore	

121
177 We might attempt a further distinction within the folk level between those traits and institutions which respond to purely local needs and could exist if all ties with the outside were cut (such as the family, certain beliefs, or techniques based on local resources) and those traits and institutions which are typical of the local subculture and represent a higher organization of local interests, but whose function is largely that of coping with life within the nation, and to a certain extent are branches of a national institution, like local government, folk Catholicism. In a discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation this further division would probably be needed. In problems of present change, however, it has not appeared necessary.

[178] In the process of change going on in Tarascan peasant cultures we observe a tendency toward a leveling of cultural differences and toward a greater uniformity of national culture. Peasant subcultures change by evolving independently and/or by taking up the culture of the other social segments of the nation.

121
181 In this sense we study a process of change which is the same as that which Redfield describes as a difference between a folk and an urban type of culture and society. We do not emphasize, however, the difference between folk and urban, equating as Redfield does[5] folk to primitive, but rather we are interested in the relations between folk and urban as two different segments of our Western civilization characterized by subcultures which keep "primitive" cultural characteristics (mainly peasant). By folk culture we do not mean a modified definition of primitive but rather those subcultures within Western civilization which are basically organized around local institutions and still keep cultural distinctiveness in the manner of primitive cultures. These local groups are

5. Redfield, 1947.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.149] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 623 formed a council of elders who controlled community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

175 171 621 This is the system which seems to be typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17] where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

175 771 Native religion before the Spanish conquest was based on a number of gods representing the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor

175 797 [778] (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

175 794 Every Indian community was provided with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

175 796 Very important in this new religion were the festivals connected with the yearly cycle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

178 771 Part of the native religion not related to the Church rituals survived, because of the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-66.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.146] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

and the native elements incorporated into the local Catholic cult made up an important part of the local folk culture of each community.

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That Michoacan followed the same general process as the rest of peasant Mexico is well attested in a number of sources. West's recent survey of the cultural geography of Michoacan includes colonial data on the economic aspects (population, agriculture, settlements, and handicrafts) which show that Michoacan developed along the same lines as the rest of Mexico.[19] These economic aspects will be considered further, for many still survive into modern times. The politico-religious organization of colonial times will be discussed later.

THE DECLINE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Together with the patterning of Indian communities after Spanish townships, the Spaniards introduced into Mexico private ownership of land. They acquired large estates *(haciendas)* which were worked with Negro or Indian labor and whose produce was primarily destined for the national or world market. These two types of land tenure, — communal property of village communities and private property of haciendas, — have been in conflict throughout the history of Mexico. This conflict began early in colonial times; it reached its climax with the almost complete destruction of the village communities at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present.

With Mexican independence began the application of political and economic policies of liberalism, and greater decay of the village communities set in.

The Indians were no longer considered a special caste under a different system of law, but Mexican citizens with equal rights. Although Indian tribute was abolished, the Indians also lost the protections afforded by the *Leyes de Indias* to their autonomous government.[20] The most important blow to the Indian village community, though, was the loss of their economic foundation: communal ownership of land.

Three centuries after the Spanish conquest, the Church had become the largest landowner of the country. The fight for abolishing ownership of land held in mortmain by the church came to be the dominant fact in the nineteenth century history of Mexico.

19. West, 1948.
20. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 4.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.166] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

for thirty or fifty years at very low rents, so the Indians were actually left without land. This is reported to have happened in about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

The main reason for the preservation of Indian communities seems to be that this area was less desirable for the hacienda type of exploitation. The mountainous character, forests, and cold climate did not make it suitable for the introduction of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

The changes within the surviving Indian towns can be described from two points of view: (a) disrupting factors making for conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, i. e., the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-6; also cited in Phipps, 1925, 119-120.
28. West, 1948, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1930, 86-90.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 186] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

241 goes on because, as Beals says, "The
433 Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian prob-
464 lem of Mexico from the point of view of Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54]
[167] and the enormous response of labor during the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

Handicrafts are very important to the
438 economy of many Tarascan villages, and
178 changes have to be examined in this field.

Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

178 Among the declining industries, the
286 most important are textile handicrafts. Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)*
463 are cheaper than the locally made serape,
178 and are frequently used even if the latter are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 327.
54. Beals, 1946, 98.
55. West, 1948, 58-71.
56. *Ibid.*, 64.
57. *Ibid.*, 66.
58. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
59. *Ibid.*, 69.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 199] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks,
178 chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[534] greatly increased in importance. The town
[439] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City
and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pot-
[323] tery has recently been selling to Mexico
City and even United States curio shops.[62]

The declining crafts are among those
178 producing basic necessities, while the
463 growing ones are luxury crafts depending
in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts
423 may be for the economy of a given village,
578 land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for vil-
[438] lages predominantly devoted to handicrafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

175 After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
668 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic development of the country, a period of
423 unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mexican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 63.
63. *Ibid.*, 56-71.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 269] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

796 Different towns have reputations for
535 giving dances in which they excel, and these are taken to other places. Lately, through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomías)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

● 178 These affairs are presently in an ad-
796 vanced stage of secularization. Their social and entertainment value is often greater than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
[541] other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection with trade. On great festivals a market is
517 held and people come in pilgrimage, combining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexi-
621 can Indians has always been closely connected with the political and social organization of the communities.

13. Foster, 1948, 188.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.326] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

791 from Cocucho, her reputation and activities evaporated when in spite of her name she became pregnant.

668 Also, during this time of the govern-
794 ment's limitation of priests, groups of *cristeros*, in revolt against the govern-
178 ment, operated in Michoacan.[58] From about 1940, the agraristas lost control of many villages. They were able to stay in power only where they had been the majority. No study has been made of towns where the agraristas predominated. The communities studied are conservative and the agraristas were a minority. The study of Cherán[59] was made shortly after the agrarista group had been expelled. The author's field work was concentrated in a village where the anti-agrarista reaction was in power and had become affiliated with sinarquismo.

In describing the present economic situation we mentioned how the economic decline of the Indian communities is continuing in modern times. Since this economic decline was the cause for conflict in the sphere of the cult, the question naturally arises about the policy of this strongly religious reaction in regard to the old cargo system.

Following the success of the anti-agrarista reaction, the cult has again been allowed in villages where it had been forbidden, and fiestas are celebrated again, but there is no blooming again of the traditional cabildo; the decay of the old cargo system continues. Within the Catholic reaction to the agraristas we can see differences arising between more traditional and more modern elements; these differences are manifest in connection with religion and cargos.

Through the changes taking place in the political-religious organization, the cabildo became independent of the village civil administration, and, although connected with the priest, it arranged the festivals and the concession of sponsorships independently. As the organizer of the folk cult activities, it can be taken as the organization most purely representing the folk aspects of the local culture. It is in a position to resist national inroads on the folk culture either from the priest, who wants to change the festivals, or from the government, which wants to suppress the religious cult. As long as the elders have any political power within the community,

58. Foster, 1948, 178.
59. Beals, 1946.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 339] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

668 the cabildo is neither official nor related to the national or state government.

●178 794 Correspondingly, there are people — we shall call them traditionalists — for whom religion means fundamentally the festivals to the saints, organized by the cargueros and the cabildo, and their meetings, inaugurations, and ceremonies. They speak of the need to continue the cargos and the fiestas and to resume the meetings of the cabildo. They even oppose the priests who attempt to suppress cargos or to modify the festivals, and they look down upon fellow villagers who do not care to take cargos, considering them unfit for leadership within the community.

These folk values are under attack by individuals who, although religious, are drifting away from the traditional organization and becoming closer to the Church. These may be called militant Catholics.

The trend is primarily against the cabildo as a clique of those who, through wealth and age, have passed through the cargos and reached eldership, and try to control cult organization. Also, the individual sponsorship as practiced by the cabildo included heavy expenses in connection with presents and banqueting for cabildo members. The trend is toward less drunkenness and toward making sponsorship less expensive.

The changes in organization cause the cult to be more strictly dependent on either the Church or the town government, i. e., on local branches of national institutions as against the former almost purely locally organized cabildo.

Thus to some extent the conflict appears as one between the priest and the conservative cabildo. The priest, of course, tries to lead the natives into more orthodox practices so that he attempts to suppress some of the folk customs and excessive drunkenness. The basic point is that he is only the incentive and leading force for those town elements who want the changes themselves.

The initiative often comes from the townspeople, from those whom we called militant Catholics. In Cherán some of the people organized a town meeting to ask that the cabildo be suppressed because of the excessive gifts they demanded from those aspiring to sponsorship, because their festivals and meetings were occasions for drunkenness, and because they stole from the church (a discussion having arisen as to the use the cabildo made of

2:Carasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 33b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

668 the presents given for church support during the years when priests were lacking).
●178 They wanted the cargos to be requested directly from the priest. The outcome was
794 not clear at the time of Beals' study, although the future of the cabildo did not seem very promising, since the priest was opposed to it.[60]

[793] In Jarácuaro, where there was no resident priest at the time of our work, the leading sinarquistas were against becoming cargueros because of the expenses involved and because they did not consider this necessary to be good Catholics. Some old men said they should accept cargos before associating with the elders "because they haven't done anything for the village." The fact was, however, that their help and advice were always requested by the local authorities.

Comparing more conservative communities such as Angahuan or the pre-revolutionary Chilchota[61] with Cherán, it is seen that the cabildo gradually loses its rôle as the main organizer of the folk religion and, although surviving, becomes only one mayordomía or group of mayordomías similar to the others. Participation in the cabildo mayordomía as the prerequisite for eldership disappears, as does the elders' rôle of granting sponsorships. Its importance as organizer of the priest's household and caretaker of the church building depends on how much a given priest relies on them.[62] The trend seems to be toward a situation similar to that in Tzintzuntzan, where the old hospital organization has already disappeared.[63]

[656] In some cases the new civil authorities intervene in the organization of festivals. On the one hand, this could be taken as a reunion of Church and State in the local sphere, for the new civil authorities assume religious functions. The feeling still prevails that every man should take a cargo and do something for the town before becoming an officer, and this is being transferred to a new system of local government. To the extent that the folk culture survives, this trend might be expected to continue. The new authorities work in close connection with the priest and mayordomías for a new organization more suited to the changing environment and economic situation than is the old-fashioned cabildo.

60. *Ibid.*, 134 *ff.*
61. *Ibid.*, 143–44, 215–19.
62. *Ibid.*, 118.
63. Foster, 1948, 201–202.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.349] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

668 On the other hand, the intervention of the civil authorities reflects increasing
●178 secularization of the main festivals. It
794 takes place in those festivals wherein the non-church celebration is of more importance and of more entertainment and commercial value. The most typical folk festivals, such as the patron saint's fiesta and Corpus Christi, are organized by the town officials as a secular affair aside from the day's religious celebration.[64]

178 The trend of change is not only to shift control from the cabildo to either the priest
794 or the town government. A change in the way of organizing a given festival is also involved. This is done by recourse to another method used of old but only lately gaining strength. Instead of individual sponsorship in which the sponsor takes care of all or most of the expense, joint financing by the whole community is used; and instead of the carguero sponsor, there
[624] is a commissioner, named by the town council or the priest; his contributions are small and he organizes the festival and collects contributions from the villagers. Also, different commissioners are named, to divide the preparation of the festival. This new system is called *comisionado* in Cherán[65] or *encargado* in Tzintzuntzan.[66]

This change has taken place in Tzintzuntzan: the cargueros of La Soledad Church and of the Guadalupe Chapel have been replaced by encargados with fewer duties and less financial responsibility than formerly.[67]

A commissioner system is used today in Cherán for the festival of the patron saint, Corpus Christi, and its Octave,[68] but no information is available as to how the cargueros went out of offce. In Huáncito (a Cañada town) the change in organization for the town's saint took place when resuming the festival after the period of agrarista suppression of the cult.

The decline of the cabildo also involves the cessation of its meetings with the banqueting, music, and drunkenness which were an important part of the ceremonies attended by cargueros. The ceremonies attendant to the change of officials, important in the past, also disappear.

This does not mean, however, the end of the carguero system. As long as some people can accumulate property, the folk culture is still sufficiently strong that individ-

64. Beals, 1946, 120-127; Foster, 1948, 204*ff*, 215*ff*.
65. Beals, 1946, 104, 130.
66. Foster, 1948, 196, 198.
67. *Ibid.*, 198, 200-201.
68. Beals, 1946, 130, 136, 127.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 346] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

794 uals can be found to sponsor festivals. The fact remains, though, that the opposite
178 tendency making for decay of the mayordomías seems to be stronger.

794 In spite of the changes devised to preserve the festivals and the desire to continue them, the old fact of their being an economic burden still continues. During the short time when the field work for the Tarascan project was done, a number of fiestas were not celebrated because nobody was available to see to the expenses or because of the current conflict between the cargueros and the priest. Thus in Cherán, 1940, dances for Santa Nieves, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the pastorela of the shepherdesses were not celebrated.[69] In Tzintzuntzan, the cargueros of La Soledad were not functioning since the priest had suppressed them in 1942.[70] The festival of the patron saint failed in Jaracuaro in 1945 because of lack of enough sponsors.

The new commissioner who substitutes for the old carguero can find his duty too much like that of his predecessor, his contribution being too high. In Cherán in 1940, one of the four commissioners named by the town officials to act as Moro dancers avoided the performance and only three Moros danced.[71]

668 This new trend away from folk festivals and toward a closer dependence on the
794 priest is, therefore, also one toward both more orthodox Catholicism and secularization of the festivals. It finds more ready
178 support among the villagers who have become associated with sinarquismo, and whose relation to the Church is close and similar to that of allegiance to a political party. Conversely, the priest often supports and fosters the spread of sinarquismo among the townspeople. Not only does he attack the old organization of cargueros and try to have a new one under his control, but he uses their influence to attack the government and schools, and to support the sinarquista schools and propaganda.[72]

* * *

The economic developments of the Indian communities outlined in Chapter 2 have been causing the disruption of folk cult celebrations because of the economic burden of their financing.

In connection with the agraristas, a radical trend for change arises which, spurred by the cult rôle in the impoverishment of

69. *Ibid.*, 136, 138, 149.
70. Foster, 1948, 198.
71. Beals, 1946, 121.
72. Foster, 1948, 175, 184-186, 193.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 359] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

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some villagers and by the anticlerical policy of the government, aims at abolishing the cult. But as in the economic sphere, this movement does not succeed in making change permanent because of the survival of the villages' economic foundation and their folk culture. There is a return to the cult, although the economic situation forces changes in its organization: decline of the body of the folk officers (cabildo); increased control by the priest; abolition of some folk ceremonies; organization of the main festivals by the civil administration as secular affairs; change from organization by an individual sponsor (carguero) carrying all the financial burden, to that of a number of commissioners sharing in the organization and the collection of contributions from the whole community. The decline of folk festivals and the greater control by the priest lead to a more orthodox Catholicism, and the influence of sinarquismo, in which allegiance to the

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.356] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

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Church is of a political nature, brings the local subculture closer to the national culture. These changes show the trend through which the folk religion might disappear completely (lack of cult sponsors, control by the priests, or the success of the anticlericals), but the simplification of ceremonials and the new forms of organization are also a means by which the folk religion survives, on an organizational basis better suited to the changed economic and social order. As in economics, the basic traits of the village community survive. A stable situation, however, is not reached. Conflict continues, because of the same forces which caused the changes described: the economic impossibility or unattractiveness of the festivals, and the ceremonials under attack by the priest. These trends go on disrupting the folk culture, but they are not strong enough to break it completely. As in economics, a state of latent conflict continues.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 369] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

In the preceding chapter, changes in the organization and ceremonials of folk Catholicism have been examined, as affected by economic and social developments within the local and the national cultures. The trends in religious ideas and folklore will presently be discussed as related to those same factors, and particularly to the political conflict whose relation to religion and the cult organization has been described.

An important trait of Tarascan folk Catholicism (as of Catholicism in general) is the ethical nature of its ideology, dominated by concepts of good and evil. Non-ethical concepts are relegated to a second plane constituting mere miscellaneous beliefs, or, in so far as they form a system of ideas, are part of wider concepts dominated by an ethical dichotomy.

In examining the relation of such a religion to social change, we find an interesting problem of how the social values at stake in the economic and social conflict are reflected in religious ideology. What do religious ideas tell about the agraristas, about the cargo system of sponsoring festivals, about the sinarquistas who are militantly Catholic and yet to some extent are in conflict with the traditional cult system? Is conflict between national influences on the folk culture and folk resistance to change reflected in the folklore? What is the attitude of different political groups toward the existing body of religious ideology?

In order to discuss this relation of religious ideology to social change, an outline of religious ideas and beliefs, as dominated by the good and evil concept, will be presented. This outline is based on folk narratives, mainly myths and experiences with the supernatural, which express religious concepts. A discussion of narrative types will be sketched in order to place them in a wider setting.

The social values sanctioned in religious ideology will then be examined. It will be seen that primarily they endorse the values of the traditional folk culture although they are in conflict with influences from the national culture. Also, in the same way as the ideology of folk Catholicism is part of the wider Catholic religion,

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.366] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

4 RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

it also sanctions the national values of the Church. Political conflict mentioned in folklore seems to reflect almost exclusively the conservative point of view. Religious people can put it to use to point out the wisdom of following their party and to present the opponent as wicked.

The tendencies which are disrupting the folk culture do not create a new body of folklore. Even religious people, like the sinarquistas, allied to the church, keep only that part of the religion which is more orthodox, and neglect that which is purely folk. Here, as with the agraristas, changes in the religious ideology and folklore do not create a new folklore but induce changes in the *function* of the old, leading to obsolescence. The different attitudes of belief will consequently be considered.[1]

Main Traits of Tarascan Religious Ideology

In contrast to what is reported for other Mexican folk cultures[2] the Tarascans do not classify their folk narratives into well defined types according to the story's characters or the didactical or recreative use of the tale. All tales are called *uandánekua*, (from *uandáni*, to tell, to speak; in Spanish, *cuento*). Sometimes, at least in Jarácuaro, the Spanish word (pronounced *kuéntu*) is used in Tarascan discourse. Its meaning, however, seems to be synonymous with *uandánekua*. Everything which is told can be called a tale. This does not mean of course that all narratives are of the same type; it means only that Tarascan culture and language do not recognize standard categories of tales. Different types are to some extent recognized in that some are told as true experiences, usually giving concrete place and personal names, while in others the action takes place in unnamed places and among unknown people. Informants are themselves aware of this possible distinction. Sometimes the word *uandánekua* (or *kuéntu*) is

1. This chapter is based almost exclusively on the author's field work. A complete field report will contain a full collection of tales. As this is not yet published, references to it are not possible. Most information comes from Jarácuaro, a strongly religious and conservative village, with sinarquismo as the dominant tendency.
2. M. Redfield, 1935.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 536] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

539 a snake. Agustin takes this very much to heart: "If that sucker had stood up, all the riches would be now his and the town's."

Pablo tells some story of the trickster, Pedro de Urdemalas. And he comments, "Those ancients were really clever, weren't they?"

771 181 178 Informants like Maximino, totally convinced of the truth of their stories, are rather unusual. This attitude is found only in a few people, mainly old-timers. Many informants have that same credulous attitude on many points, but some skepticism is also present. New attitudes away from total belief in folk ideas are found among most people, and those active in both agrarista or sinarquista movements share in them.

It appears that as the village community becomes increasingly part of the external world, greater acceptance of outside ideology sets in. When Indians are more drawn into the division of labor in the greater society, they begin to accept as part of this division of labor the fact that it is the outsider's job (Church, school, etc.) to rule on matters pertaining to ideology (religion, science, and so on). Unlike Maximino, who is sure of the truth of his stories, most people are full of doubts and when talking with the ethnographer express the idea that he (the ethnographer), as one coming from the outside, knows better than they do the answers to his questions.

821 812 "Who knows, really?" or "Who knows what the truth is?" is a common answer to questions about the nature of the world, the sun, the moon, the volcano, and so on. Often people will confess their ignorance and ask questions in their turn. Sometimes they think it silly that such questions are put to them: "When will the volcano go out? Why! Even the geologists don't know." "How can we know the shape of the world? Some people of this town have never been even in Morelia [state capital]."

773 In relation to the different types of narratives we have described, the same process of change is apparent. Myths are sometimes doubted as perhaps not in keeping with the teachings of the Church. A complete creation myth, for instance, was recorded only after the informant, Mateo, had provided many other tales. When asked why he didn't tell this before, he answered, "I didn't think you would like it." "Is it true?" "Who knows, what do you think? I guess it is only a tale."

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 546] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

771 [539] the boy leaves, BA eats it and says, 'What an easy life, that of a sorcerer.'

771 This basic trend of change is found in both convinced agraristas and militant Catholics, but there are also differences which warrant a discussion.

●178 668 The disbelief attitude is sometimes pushed to an extreme, including doubt as to religion, the authority of the Church, and the need for the cult. We saw how the agraristas identified fiestas with the social order they attacked, and tried to suppress them and the cult completely. A critical position toward religion and the Church is also found among some people who have been subjected to outside influence, including sometimes outside education, and whose political ideas would be called 'radical' although they are not directly connected with local agrarista policies. This can be considered direct national influence.

178 771 These people scorn the others as superstitious, fanatics, fools. Myths or experiences with the supernaturals are not believed and are told as something some people do or believe. The language used by Leandro in describing how the people of Cocucho thought their Virgin was weeping tears of blood is typical:

[539] [781] ". . . And as in this town there are a lot of superstitious people, the following day . . . the woman praying the rosary began shouting and crying as the Virgin was weeping tears of blood because Saint Peter had left . . . And what really happened was that the wind waved the red paper hangings used as ornaments in the church and they were reflected on the image of the Virgin."

771 668 For the militant Catholics, agraristas are nothing but atheists. They describe them as people who have no religion, as is proved by the fact that they close the churches, ban the priests, and deal sacrilegiously with sacred objects, even destroying and burning the images of the saints.

Negation of the existence of God was recorded by an informant in Arócutin, but we do not have enough material to say to what extent this position obtains. More material from towns preponderantly agrarista is necessary before we can know to what extent lack of belief in the basic teachings of the Church arose in part locally or is due only to the fact that this group has been more under the direct

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 57b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

CONCLUSIONS

794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

621 These communities began to decline in the face of other growing segments of the society (primarily the haciendas), and
178 tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

423 The loss of Indian lands to haciendas diminished the importance of the Indian
182 communities within the country. Within the Indian communities the economic im-
178 pact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 After the separation of Church and State, the [illegible] system of organizing the religious [illegible] no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connected with the civil. Cult financing came to be
[794] done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a
[795] burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

182 The factors disrupting the folk culture are evident in the folk ideology as it con-
178 demns money and wealth. With increased dependence on the outside world came

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 589] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 182 greater acceptance of outside authority in questions of ideology. Also the institutions, such as sponsorships of festivals, sanctioned by the folk ideology, were now against the interests of people within the community.

178 668 The former forces of change led to conflict within the villages incited by the Mexican Revolution and subsequent agrarian reforms. Different political trends became discernible within the villages and the people in them had different religious aspirations and policies.

Agrarista groups were formed. In Mexico agraristas are peasants who receive land (usually from former haciendas) under the terms of the agrarian reforms. Such groups exist in some Tarascan villages which were close to haciendas, but in the conservative villages studied, agraristas are groups within the village, organized to take over lands which had been lost to outsiders, or which either belonged to larger landowners within the village or were communal property. In religion they aim at abolishing the cult. They particularly forbid the sponsorship and celebration of festivals, for they see in them the cause for the loss of their lands. Consequently the body of officers organizing those festivals is also suppressed. Belief in God and the saints may be kept and folk narratives are still told which express the old local community values but there is a considerable lack of belief in an ideology which sanctions what they oppose, including the Church. Some can be easily convinced by the anti-religious teachings of outside radicals.

In the conservative communities studied, since the agraristas formed a privileged minority, a reaction arose which finally prevailed. This reaction suppressed the privileges of the agraristas, gained control of the local government, and restored the cult. Within this reaction two trends in religious policies can be discerned. One group, which might be called traditionalist, favors following the cult as of old with the earlier system of sponsorships and a revival of the political and social importance of the sponsors within the community. In ideology it correlates with total belief in

178 668 the content of folklore and this folklore is used to prove agrarista wickedness.

The other group which seems to prevail is more closely connected with the Church politically. This group restores the cult but the old causes for decline of the folk religion are seen in their policy. They sometimes oppose individual sponsorships and attendant celebrations. New forms are used for organizing and financing festivals through the cooperation of all villagers. The folk cult tends to come under stricter control of the priest (tending towards greater orthodoxy) or of the civil authorities (towards secularization of the celebration). In the realm of ideology there is lack of belief in part of the folk ideas, but a basic belief and acceptance of the Church authority are kept. In belief, as in the celebrations of the cult, a more orthodox Catholicism is evident.

178 668 771

One can see clearly the forces of change which might lead to the almost complete disappearance of the folk religion: lack of sponsors for folk festivals and a consequent decline in the festivals, some disappearing and others becoming secular affairs; lack of belief in folk narratives, leading to obsolescence or to their becoming non-religious narratives; and acceptance of outside anti-clerical policies or of strict Church control in questions of religion. But as long as the economic basis of the communities persists, some amount of folk religion will also survive. The extremist anticlerical position of the agraristas could not take root. The present Catholic reaction against them represents the balance of change, effecting neither complete disappearance of the folk religion nor a preservation of the old order. Nevertheless, the old factors for change continue in operation. The conflict between conservative and disruptive tendencies goes on and a stable integration can not be attained.

178 182

Throughout this process of change the interplay of local and national factors is all the time evident. The changing folk culture of a local community can be understood only by relating the trends arising out of local conditions to the development of the nation of which the folk community forms a part.

134 Large cracks occur in the soil surface during the months of March and April, and moisture is evaporated from a depth of many inches. Consequently čaránda is a "temporal" soil, i. e., it can be planted only after the rains begin. Because of its clayey texture, it erodes easily once the plant cover is stripped and the soil structure is destroyed. The cultivated slopes around Lake Pátzcuaro, for example, are one of the worst-eroded agricultural areas of Mexico. Wherever čaránda soils occur, the surface is scarred by gullies, which are becoming a characteristic landscape feature in the low areas surrounding the Sierra.

134 241 **Minor soil types.**—Among the most fertile in the Tarascan area are a few minor soil types. These include the alluvium in La Cañada and the lacustrine deposits around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro and within the recently desiccated Zacapu Basin. Containing abundant organic

[Text continues top of P. 11b—Analyst]

TARASCAN

POPULATION

THE RECESSION OF NATIVE SPEECH

191 178 171 One of the outstanding developments in Tarascan history has been the drastic areal recession of indigenous speech. Today the territory in which Tarascan (P'orépeča) is spoken represents only one-fifteenth of its pre-Conquest extent. The pre-Spanish linguistic area (discussed by Brand, 1944) included most of the present State of Michoacán, except the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre del Sur between Colima and the lower Balsas (map 7). The political limits of the Tarascan state, however, extended beyond the language boundary: in the west into Jalisco, in the south to the Pacific, and in the north to the Bajío of Guanajuato (Brand, 1944; cf. Stanislawski, 1947 a). The Tarascan cultural core centered in the north-central part of the Empire, comprising the Lake Pátzcuaro-Cuitzeo area and the pine forests of the Sierra and the upper escarpment zone (Stanislawski, 1947 a). Tarascans extended their speech southward into the *tierra caliente* (basins of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas) by colonization from the highlands during the 14th and early 15th centuries. Likewise, the P'orépeča settlements around the eastern end of Lake Chapala and south thereof (Mazamitla) appear to have been 15th-century colonies. Within the 191 563 pre-Conquest area various islands of foreign tongues existed; these represented colonies settled with permission of Tarascan chiefs. There were

[Text continues bottom of P. 11b—Analyst]

438 178 [166] An interesting aspect of cottage industries is their ephemeral character. Owing to movement of artisan families from one pueblo to another and changes in markets and fashions, certain crafts disappear in some towns and reappear in others. In the last 160 years 37 Tarascan villages and *ranchos* have lost old crafts or gained new ones; 27 have retained their characteristic trades (table 2).[184] [323] The pottery industry in Santa Fé de la Laguna dates only from the last quarter of the 19th century, and in 1910 hat making was [294] brought into Jarácuaro by a few political refugees from Pichátaro. A large number of Tarascan [282] towns were famed for leathercrafts (saddles and shoes) during the 18th and 19th centuries, but now, owing to changes in transportation and the rise of factory production, local leather products have almost disappeared. Again, the iron craft [325] of San Felipe de los Herreros has practically vanished, for factory-made articles can be obtained more cheaply from surrounding mestizo towns.

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[184] Insufficient data were at hand to determine possible changes in home industries for 30 towns and ranches.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P.62b]

438 Some industries, important in pre-Conquest
463 times, have completely disappeared. The fine
Tarascan featherwork was nearly extinct by the
beginning of the 18th century (Escobar, 1924,
178 pp. 149–151). Furthermore, the use of the ground
pith of maize stalks, from which various objects
(mainly religious) were molded, apparently flared
in the 17th and 18th centuries, and then dis-
appeared (Escobar, 1924, p. 144).

On the other hand, crafts which have persisted in some pueblos for the last 160 years may predate the Conquest. Witness the leatherwork of Nahuatzen, a leather-making center in 1640, where both deer and cow hides were tanned (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 7, pp. 361–362); the many towns which still specialize in cotton weaving with the belt loom; the petate-making towns around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

CERAMICS

323 Clayware is indispensable in most Mexican
kitchens,[125] and tile roofing is used extensively in

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By BERNICE A. KAPLAN

ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Canaquas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their performance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

*Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Folklore Society on March 24, 1950, in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Aided by a grant from the Viking Fund, Inc., to Wayne University College of Medicine for anthropological studies in Mexico.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

their more mundane activities. It was therefore with the expectation of a rewarding experience that the annual Corpus Christi fiesta was awaited in the pueblo of Paracho where the author was engaged in anthropological studies during the summer of 1948.

Paracho is a mestizo community of approximately three thousand persons. It is located in the Sierra Region of Michoacán, in the heart of the Tarascan area. The pueblo is approximately half-way between Carapan and Uruapan on the branch of the national highway that connects those towns and is about fifteen miles from each. Although the community is rapidly becoming urbanized it still adheres to many of the old customs—to a diminishing extent, to be sure, as new ways come to supplant them. The performance of the Huanancha dance at the festival of Corpus Christi is one such "survival," but apparently it is coming to have a function somewhat altered from that which it had in early Colonial days.

The church calendar notwithstanding, the fiesta of Corpus Christi is celebrated at different times in the several pueblos of the Sierra Region of Michoacán. This is primarily because a large and continuous market is a cardinal requirement for a successful holiday, and the travelling salesmen, operators of merry-go-rounds, gamblers, clowns, and other personages who help to make the market place a center of attraction for a wide area, cannot be in several places at the same time. In Paracho, Corpus Christi is celebrated on the second Sunday in August and continues for two days. For the community the holiday has three main functions: commercial, religious and recreational. In 1948, the year in which the fiesta in Paracho was observed by the author, the religious aspect appears to have been subordinate. One villager said that no special church ceremonies were held in Paracho that year because the Bishop of Zamorra and the priest had decided that "it was not good for the people because they don't know how to have a nice holiday and they get drunk." The clerics were also reported to have said, "if the people can have a nice holiday then they can have the church ceremonies (on that day) again." There had been special observances on Corpus Christi in 1947, the first year that the present parish priest was in residence.

But it was not only the religious significance of the holiday that was changing in the minds and activities of the people. Other practices associated with the holiday in the past are also receiving less attention than formerly. For example, each trade group—an organization of members who work at the same specialized trade, of which twenty-one are recognized in Paracho—used to hire a "music" (that is, either a band or an orchestra) which followed the group about the town for the two and a half days of the holiday, playing almost all of the time. Each group would vie with the others to get the best "music" and to have their musicians play the longest and the loudest. In 1948 only five of the trade groups hired either bands or orchestras, and a sixth band was provided by the mayor of the town. We were also told that formerly it was the practice of each trade group to set itself up in the plaza on the second day of the holiday and demonstrate for all to see how they worked—making miniature chocolate

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

beaters, *rebosos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior.

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community "played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday.

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however.

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances performed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monográfia histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1903), II, 388.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

Huananchas in Cheran.[8] There the girls were chosen either on the basis of a vow made by their parents, or else they were nominated by the *prioste*, the woman in charge of certain of the ceremonial round of affairs. In Cheran, the function of the girls was definitely of a religious nature since they were expected to clean the church periodically, to bring flowers to decorate the church and to perform other such duties. Although the dance in which these girls participate, known as a Pastorela, does not parallel that of the Paracho Huananchas, their present functions seem to match very closely what were reported to have been the functions of the Paracho Huananchas until recently.

In 1906 León apparently observed the functioning of the *guananchas* in Arentepácua for he writes:

> On December 8th they celebrated the Fiesta de La Purisima with feather dances, fireworks, and a procession in the Hospital, from which the *guananchas* come to outshine themselves. These are the young maidens of the pueblo, into whose charge is put the care of decorating the altar of the Virgin, and more than that they have the duty of carrying the image on a litter during the procession. For this duty they put on their best dresses and crown their head with a garland of natural flowers. In this fiesta they are present at the church all day, where they remain singing praises to the Virgin in Tarascan.[9]

Beals also reports that prior to 1932 there were in the mestizo town of Chilchota four specially appointed women known as Roseras or Huananchitas whose duties included care of the Virgin, dressing of the image on special occasions, and the floral decoration of the litter on which the image was carried.[10] They were also expected to walk in the religious procession. In these processions one of the Roseras carried a spray of flowers while another carried a pennant. In Chilchota, in contrast to the custom in other pueblos where the office of Huananchicha is mentioned, the Roseras or Huananchichas are older, married women. Although the office of Huananchicha is present in Chilchota there appears to be no religious dancing associated with it in which the office holders themselves participate.

In this same study Beals reports that in Paracho on August 12, 1940, he observed a dance of little girls in the streets and in the mayor's office. In 1940 the church was elaborately decorated with flowers, vegetables and fruit. Saint's images were placed at the four corners of the atrium, and following the noon mass a procession moved counterclockwise about the atrium stopping before each saint's image. At that time, according to Beals, the dancers formed part of the procession.[11] In 1948 there was no religious procession. On the other hand, the Huananchichas and their "music" did lead the parade of the bulls to the bull ring on the first day of the spectacle.

From the foregoing it may be seen that the office of the Huanancha maidens is not one limited to the pueblo of Paracho, but that in Paracho—at least by

[8] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.
[9] Nicolás León, *op. cit.*, *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 2a epoca, T. III, p. 468, (translated from the Spanish).
[10] Ralph Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–219.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 130–131.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

178
535

1948—some of the earlier functions of the office had disappeared and little save the outer formality of the performance of the dance remained. The fact that the performance has not yet been entirely eliminated indicates that the dance still holds meaning for at least some of the members of the community. It may do no more than give status and prestige to the families of the girls who take part. Yet if this is so, it is of some interest that this method of gaining position in the community continues to be recognized and approved. On the other hand, it seems plausible to explain the survival of the dance of the Huananchichas as a loose bond between the earlier sacred beliefs, practices and orientations of the community and the newer, more secular, emphases which are continually gaining ground. For the majority of the younger members of the audience it may well have been that the performance of the dance held no very deep emotional significance, that it was merely another spectacle of the Corpus Christi fiesta. Many of the older people, on the other hand, seemed to derive genuine satisfaction from its performance, if only because it reminded them of the past.

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8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

increase in reported Indian parents by the older group may also reflect awareness of the social changes which have been occurring over the decades, and the heavy incidence of Indian parents reported may merely be a reflection of the fact that "things were not always thus." One elderly man, commenting on the changes which he had seen in Paracho since his youth, said, "In that time the people spoke only Tarascan, and the race was *naturalito*, all *Indios* here. Since the burning of the town (in 1917 during the 1910-1920 Revolution) the people speak only Castilian."

TABLE 2

AGE OF RESPONDENT AND REPORTED RACE OF PARENTS

Age of Informant	Fathers		Mothers	
	Indian	Mestizo	Indian	Mestiza
Under 20	5	5	6	4
21-30	20	18	18	20
31-40	28	32	33	27
41-50	36	18	37	17
51-60	30	10	34	6
61 and over	22	4	20	6
Total	141	87	148	80

These explanations are admittedly not biological. Indeed, it can be demonstrated empirically that to the extent to which the question aroused any interest at all, the residents of Paracho are not concerned with genetic (racial) explanations. Of thirty-seven explanations as to why their parents are considered to be Indian the following reasons were given: the parents were "from here in Paracho" in thirteen instances; they were "born in Paracho" in nine instances; they were said to have been born "in an Indian place" in nine instances; they were described as descended (in the male line) from those who had come to Paracho from Paracho Viejo in the 16th century in five instances. The eight other reasons included the following: "Because in 1901 the people were more *Natural* and today they are more civilized"; "parent is *Indigena*, but on the basis of color is with the French or the Spanish"; "All of us are pure people, Indians — we are of this population"; "In that time there were no mixtures"; "More Indian than *de razon*, like it still is, *Natural*, no?" and finally, "Indian, the same as the rest of us."

From the twenty-one explanations concerning Mestizo parents the following tabulation results. In seven instances the parent concerned was said to have been born elsewhere. In four instances the parents are described as Mestizo because they do not, or did not, speak Tarascan. In two cases the parents were "more white." In two responses they were "like ourselves" (i.e., the speakers). And in one instance the parents were considered to be Mestizo because they were born in Paracho. Of the miscellaneous reasons the following are illustrative: ". . . my father is a little Spanish, the Indians don't have a beard." "They were *de razon*, but from the *ranchos*." One man said he did not know how to answer as his parents

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sjerra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[Text continues on P. 4]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

539 823 At daybreak the astonished king and warriors beheld, instead of a flourishing valley, a lake whose waters formed the shape of a heart.

These things occurred many years ago, but each morning Father Huriata continues to kiss with his first rays of light the crystal-clear waters created by Princess Hapunda, the beautiful "Tzinzi-quin."

QUIRITZÍCUARO (THE GREAT FOUNTAIN)

Historical Comment

312 [539] [361] The legend of Quiritzícuaro refers to one of the most significant factors in the life of the Tarascans—a needed spring to furnish a constant supply of fresh water. Almost every town in Michoacán is located beside a lake or is near a spring. While the territory to the north and to the south of La Sierra abounds in springs, their scarcity in La Sierra itself has always been a problem. In pre-Conquest times, many towns supplemented the flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from springs some distance away. This method is still used in many of the pueblos of La Sierra.

312 584 [178] The discovery of a new spring has been charmingly linked with a tradition existing for centuries in the highland pueblos of La Sierra, where the young people carry on their limited courtship while walking to and from the water fountain. The maiden loiters and gazes across the fields, never facing her suitor directly, and listens as he talks to her. His presence on the road to the fountain, although understood by the townspeople and usually prearranged with the girl, must give the appearance of being quite accidental.

361 49 [539] The pueblo of Paracho, referred to in the legend, is one of three significant Tarascan villages on the road that leaves the main highway at Carapan and winds southward for forty-five miles through pine and oak woods and small cultivated valleys to Uruapan (Fig. 1). Paracho is still primitively picturesque. The town's

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DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [198] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

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NU34 Tarasco NU34

The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest through the successful teachings of the Catholic church.

As literature, the legends are presented in language which seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta of *Uazeata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these legends have probably become embellished with illusions and atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the relative isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native provenience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, 1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as marriage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends